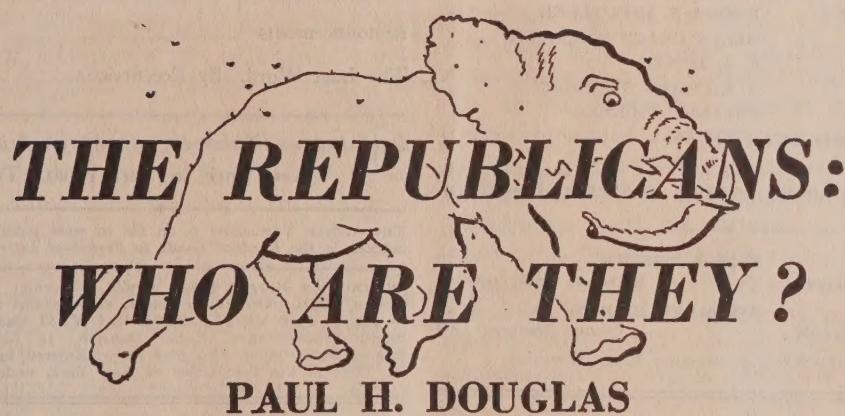


THE WORLD TOMORROW



What Europe Wants

H. N. BRAILSFORD

Nine Times to Russia

SHERWOOD EDDY

SEPTEMBER 21st

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IN THIS ISSUE:

Reinhold Niebuhr
ON
*is Peace or
Justice the Goal?*

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV

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Appearing Next Week

Democracy in the Balance

H. N. Brailsford

Labor's Left-Wing Vanguard

A. J. Muste

Who Are the Democrats?

Paul H. Douglas

The Case Against Hoover

an editorial

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Vol. XV

September 21, 1932

No. 10

Gandhi Defies the Empire

Mahatma Gandhi, whose life has always been at the service of his people, has now definitely placed it with him as a hostage of true freedom. Reiterating his well-known belief that the proposed constitutional change which provides for separate representation of the depressed classes will merely end up by stamping upon them a label of inferiority and will tend to perpetuate their status, he promises to starve himself to death, whether or not he is released, unless the official arrangement is changed. This is non-violent struggle at its apex, to the simple dramatic thrill of which we should like to yield ourselves were it not for the grim tragedy involved.

With characteristic moderation, humility and candor, the belated news reveals, Mr. Gandhi has been corresponding with the Prime Minister in an effort to persuade him toward reconsideration; but the latter-day Ramsay MacDonald has responded, so it seems, with nothing beyond the usual reassurances. It is known not only to Mr. Gandhi, but to students of the Round Table proceedings, that in reality Mr. MacDonald holds for the Indian leader violent animosity, and we cannot anticipate very much of a relaxation in stubbornness on the part of the Premier. That new life will be given to the pro-Gandhi movement all around the world, especially in England itself, is certain. Its followers know that Mr. Gandhi is no his-trionic fakir, but an enlightened and aroused man, conscious of his vast responsibility, and moving with deadly precision toward his goal. "I have to resist your decision with my life," wrote Mr. Gandhi, according to the *New York Times*. "The only way I can do this is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind, save water, with or without salt, and soda. This fast will cease if, during its progress, the British government of its own motion or under the pressure of public opinion, revises its decision and withdraws its scheme for communal electorates for the depressed classes. It may be my judgment is wholly warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for the depressed classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so, I am not likely to be in the right with reference to the other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case, my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from those numberless men and women who have a child-like faith in my wisdom."

Unquestionably, this new defiance of British authority will cement together a great many dissident elements within India itself. Before the latest development Britain's decision to take away responsibility for a settlement from the Round Table committee and turn it over to Parliament has alienated almost the last moderate opinion in India. Whether Mr. Gandhi's fast can draw into line this minority of articulate untouchables who have rallied behind the leadership of Dr. B. M. Ambedkar, who at the Round Table conferences argued for separate electorates, no one can yet say. For our own part, having discussed this face to face with Dr. Ambedkar and having heard Mr. Gandhi set forth his views in London, we are stoutly convinced, though not in a spirit of blind Gandhi worship, that reason and truth are with the Mahatma. Instead of citizens voting as citizens, under the proposed plan Moslems will vote as Moslems, Hindus as Hindus, women as women, and in certain sections untouchables as untouchables. London goes further and publishes the number of seats allocated to the respective groups in the provincial legislatures, as follows:

General (Hindus)	705
Depressed Classes	71
Backward Areas	20
Sikhs	35
Moslems	489
Indian Christians	21
Anglo-Indians	12
Europeans	25
Commerce and Industry	54
Landholders	35
Universities	8
Labour	38

It would be difficult to devise a procedure better calculated to intensify the bitterness of religious and caste controversies than to base political institutions upon these cleavages. Even the reactionary Simon Commission Report condemned separate electorates, as did also two different commissions in Ceylon. Mahatma Gandhi, speaking in behalf of the Indian National Congress, has said repeatedly with the utmost emphasis that he will never consent to separate electorates. Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs alike are raising a storm of protest against the communal award.

Fifty thousand political prisoners are behind the bars, and it is likely that the number of non-cooperators imprisoned will rapidly increase. Two years more of repression and police barbarity and the last vestige of British prestige in India will have vanished.

Labor's Own Party—When?

If William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, did not read the editorial in our last issue urging labor to throw its support behind a party of its own instead of relying on its traditional non-partisan policy, he acted immediately afterward suspiciously as if he had. To the New Jersey Federation of Labor he said, on September 8: "I believe when the time comes, if it does come, when the men and women of the great working class believe their best interests will be served by the organization of an independent political party, they will adopt that plan." Far more significant than Mr. Green's obviously halting words was the unanimous report of observers that at the words "independent political party," a wild outburst of applause prevented him, for a few moments, from completing his sentence. Well might the members of the Federation ponder the negative results the old policy has brought them! But if they are realistic, they will recognize that it is no mean task to organize a new party of the workers; and they will have to reckon with the power that the Socialist Party of America is beginning to exert upon those who labor in mill, in mine, at the desk—upon manual and white collar workers alike.

Daily the evidence piles up that the A. F. of L. workers have done themselves serious harm by not coming out independently and splitting with old-party politicians long before, so that in the campaign of this year they could have voted *en masse* for Thomas and Maurer. The Labor Bureau, Inc., a fact-finding body which has served labor well in the past, has stated, after a study of the Democratic and Republican platforms:

Neither platform comes out courageously for the vast construction program necessary to create jobs, or for direct federal aid to care for the unemployed. Neither platform offers a specific and immediate hour reduction program and neither platform declares itself in favor of maintaining wages. The platform of neither party recommends the establishment of an efficient nation-wide free employment service. Neither document mentions child labor or minimum wage laws. Neither one promises labor the right to organize without interference of the courts.

Yet the New York State Federation of Labor, by an overwhelming vote, on August 25 endorsed the candidacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt for President! The sheer folly of such a procedure has been abundantly demonstrated by similar actions of this particular labor organization in the past; but its officials seem capable of nothing better than mental paralysis in the face of the bribery and molasses-spreading of the New York State Democratic machine.

The A. F. of L., as we pointed out last week, has been coming out more and more vigorously for unemployment insurance, even though by inadequate and treacherous methods. If the leaders and the rank and

file really mean business about unemployment insurance, and desire to promote it in this campaign, they might listen open-mindedly to a group of progressive long known for their support of labor's cause, some of them recognized experts on the question. Mayo Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee sought the opinion of this group with regard to the Democratic plank on the subject, frankly expressing his own dissatisfaction; in reply, a similar dissatisfaction, though expressed in varying terms, was indicated by Jane Addams, President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, national secretary of B'nai B'rith, and Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin.

Well might these workers ponder, also, a comparison of the demands issued prior to the conventions by the A. F. of L., with the platform planks of the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist parties which have been published by the Socialist headquarters. The almost incredible flippancy with which the Federation's demands were disregarded by the two major parties is all too apparent, while the Socialist planks not only support strongly the A. F. of L. program but go far beyond it in service of the workers. And saddest of all about this situation is the inescapable fact that the A. F. of L. leaders fail to endorse the Socialist ticket and refuse to mass the resources at their disposal behind the only party that without violence and dictatorship would bring their program to reality, not because the Socialist Party stops short of their desires but because it would do infinitely more to aid the workers of America.

Vagaries of the Campaign

Out in the West Mr. Roosevelt is the great champion of the oppressed. Senator Wheeler, Senator Cosgrove and a host of other semi-radical liberals of the wide open spaces are trying to dramatize the campaign with Roosevelt cast for the part of St. George, who is going to kill the dragon of conservatism.

In New York things are different. Politics is not so dramatic in New York; it is pretty much of a business, in charge of shrewd demagogues. The Roosevelt managers in the metropolis of America are not worrying about the forgotten man so much as about Walker, Curry, McCooey, McKee. Our readers in the hinterland may never have heard any of these names except that of Walker before. Let us enlighten them. Roosevelt chances in New York depend upon certain local political factors and questions. Will Mr. McCooey, who is the Democratic boss in Brooklyn and who works hand in glove with Tammany, be able to persuade Tammany that it ought not carry its vindication of Mr. Walker to the extent of imperiling the national ticket? Will the new Mayor, Mr. McKee, who is winning public favor by slashing the budget, be able to win so much popular approval that the Democrats

will have to nominate him for the empty chair in City Hall? In the event of an affirmative answer, Mr. Flynn, who is Mayor McKee's boss as Democratic leader of the Bronx, and also Roosevelt's Secretary of State, will be riding high, and the Roosevelt forces will be in semi-control of the city. That is why Tammany will probably not nominate Mayor McKee. Will William Randolph Hearst who advised Mayor Walker to resign and seek vindication, but who became angry when Mr. Walker made an attack on Mr. Roosevelt, scuttle the Walker ship permanently? Will Al Smith run as Tammany's candidate for mayor in order to stave off a reform-fusion ticket? Or will Mr. Berry, who is Mr. Smith's man in the city administration and who holds the office of city comptroller be the fusion candidate? Will Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager, Mr. Farley, the ex-prize fight commissioner and a very realistic politician, come to terms with Tammany and will he promise that in the event of Mr. Roosevelt's election federal patronage will go to Tammany and not be diverted from the machine, as was the case in the Wilson administration? That question is much more important to Tammany than the problems of the forgotten man. Will Lieutenant-Governor Lehman win the nomination for Governor and will he win the heavy Jewish vote, or will the Republicans give Senator Hofstadter, also a Jew and chairman of Mr. Seabury's committee, a high place on the State ticket so that they can claim some of the Jewish votes?

Somehow or other the questions of conservatism and liberalism are not so important to the campaign managers in New York. We are realists here. We leave it to the people out West to become excited about Mr. Roosevelt's liberalism. Here in New York the big question is whether Mr. Roosevelt, who must oppose Tammany to win the Western votes, can get Mr. Flynn and Mr. Farley and Mr. McCooey to manipulate things so that Tammany won't play possum in the election. It's all very complicated. We know it is futile to enlighten our Western readers fully. What, after all, do they know about politics—at least the kind of up-to-date politics which we play in this great metropolis?

Back to State Tariffs

On May 11 an editorial in the *New York Times* called attention to a fresh challenge to economic intelligence and economic ethics:

A trend toward economic isolation is to be found not only in the policy of nations which are rapidly fencing off their own preserves with tariff walls; various States in this country are also drawing into their own shells. They are forbidden by the Constitution to curtail interstate commerce by enacting tariff laws, but there are other ways of skinning the cat.

Here are some of those other ways. J. H. H. Alexander, of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Associa-

tion, writing in the *Nation's Business* for July, says that "in the past eight years 24 states have enacted laws declaring a compulsory preference for made-in-the-state products or for the employment of residents on public works contracts." An editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* for October 3, 1931, cites chain store taxes, and prohibitive taxes laid by animal-producing states on vegetable shortening which comes from cottonseed oil. Thus, as that journal points out, "Something very old is turning up again as something very new." We are on the way back to the America of the Articles of Confederation, to pre-revolutionary France, to the town economy of the Middle Ages. Events therefore once again suggest a general tariff analysis.

Under the twin assumptions of perfect competition and *laissez-faire*, world-wide free trade is supposed to guarantee the largest total real income to the world as a whole, and everybody is supposed to get for himself the largest real income to which his competitive strength entitles him. But competition and *laissez-faire* are anything but perfect; so tariffs can be explained, and some of them defended. That is, they could be defended if two conditions were met: first, that tariffs be transformed into bounties, whose cost is measurable; second, that the bounty policy be scientifically determined. Today most tariffs are just plain selfishness. "The buy-at-home campaigns," says the *Saturday Evening Post*, "are never quite what they seem to be. They may be backed by innocent, well-meaning citizens who like to see their names in the papers, but behind the shouters are merchants and manufacturers who hope to profit."

There are three main points to be made about the basic contention that tariffs (or state trade walls) afford protection to standards of living at home. First, cheap wages outside do not necessarily mean that outside products will undersell domestic products. Only lower unit costs as a whole can lead to successful competition. Second, if outsiders do undersell insiders in some instances, and domestic labor, capital and raw material have to find other employment, we must remember the consumer's gain resulting from lower prices (more widespread than the producer's gain which comes from protection). Third, if the outsider cannot sell, he cannot buy; and barriers thus inflict even a producer's loss on some insiders.

It would be incorrect to say that any state tariff is worse than any national tariff, but it is correct to say that, by and large, state walls are more inexcusable even than national barriers. It is a joy to agree with the *Post*: "The placing of the power to regulate interstate commerce exclusively with Congress has made this country a single economic unit and has generally been looked upon as the most important reason for our growth. For in this land no community can be self-contained without losing more than it gains." The

irony of the situation is that many of the very industrialists who argue against state tariffs are enthusiastically in favor of national tariffs. In fact, on the very same page in another editorial the *Post* betrays its own inconsistency: "We question whether the (national) tariff has much to do with limitation of imports."

What Does the Farm Strike Mean?

The picketing of roads into Sioux City and other centers of the upper Mississippi Valley by irate farmers has attracted more attention in the metropolitan newspapers of the East than any other farm news in years. The East has in general not realized that even before the present depression began the Middle Western farmers were in a bad way. Wheat, cotton and corn were selling during the years from 1923 to 1929, when the possessing classes reveled in their prosperity, at approximately one-half of the peak prices of 1918-19. The deflation in agriculture was much more severe in 1921 than that in manufacturing, and a unit of wheat, corn, cotton, or tobacco purchased at the farm a much smaller quantity of urban goods throughout the decade than had been the case from 1910 to 1914. The farmer's net income and the price of his land was therefore appreciably lower even during the roaring twenties than it had been before the War.

The present depression has heaped added burdens upon agriculture. Since a farmer has an extraordinarily heavy overhead in the form of his land, his machinery and the maintenance of his family, he does not cut down his output in a depression period to anywhere near the degree to which urban industry, by turning its workers adrift, can and does do. The result is that the prices of farm products have in the past three years fallen catastrophically until in the winter of this year, according to Professors Warren and Pearson of Cornell, the farmer had to give up twice as many units of agricultural products for a unit of city products as in 1914. With wheat netting the farmers in Kansas and the Dakotas less than 35 cents a bushel, with hogs selling during the early summer at three dollars per 100 pounds, and with cotton bringing not far from six cents a pound, it is no wonder that the farmers have been driven to desperation. This desperation has been made still more acute because, while the money burden of farm mortgages has remained as before, the full weight of the decline in the price of farm lands has fallen on the farmers' equity. Thus farms which were worth \$20,000 a few years ago and which were then mortgaged for \$10,000 are still mortgaged for that amount but are now worth only around \$12,000 and in some cases even less. The result is that the equities of the farmers have shrunk so greatly that large numbers are being foreclosed upon and others are really only tenants who hold their farms at the sufferance of the mortgagees.

It is obvious that while such a strike as that now being conducted may raise the price of milk in a few localities, it cannot affect the prices of such staples as wheat, corn, cotton, beef, pork, tobacco, etc. The prices of these commodities are made in the world market in terms of world supply and demand and the blockade of a few cities will not send them upward.

The farmers' strike will have real significance only if the farmers go on to tackle the evils which really oppress them. One of the foremost of these is the protective tariff on manufactured goods, which for nearly seventy years has increased the prices of the commodities which the farmers buy and by diminishing the foreign market has decreased the prices of what they sell. Not only has the manufacturing East been able to put over such a measure upon the farmers but it has, until recently, made the latter like it and swear undying allegiance to the party which has been bleeding them white. A slashing of the tariff rates would at once decrease the cost of living for the farmers and by building up the European demand would appreciably increase the prices of the staple agricultural crops. There is no logical reason why the Middle-West, with the South, should not become the great free-trade center of the country. We can only hope, therefore, that the farmers' strike is an indication that the farmers are ceasing to be bamboozled by the tariff and that they propose to cast off the old shackles which they have helped to impose upon themselves.

Not until the farmers do this and take steps to introduce income and corporation taxes to lessen the tax burden upon real estate will their revolt become truly effective. They stand, moreover, to gain from a rise in the general price level, which would increase both the prices of their goods and the value of their equities. A world-wide upward movement of prices is needed, and if this cannot be attained by coöperative international action under the gold standard, it should be initiated by nationally managed efforts, which though carefully guarding against undue inflation, would still provide for a considerable measure of reflation.

A New Deal for Haiti

We can hardly escape a bit of speculation over Franklin D. Roosevelt's reaction to the news that by the end of 1934 the political control of Haiti by the United States will come to an end, and that by 1942 at the latest the last of the old financial deal which has been so onerous to the natives will be liquidated. It was under the heavy hand of Governor Roosevelt, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, that the initial adventure of mailed-fist imperialism was started in the island. We have few illusions about the actual freedom of Haiti or any other small Latin American republic near our shores, if at a future date intervention should seem "necessary" to our imperialists. But at the same time, a return of Haiti to self-rule is likely

to strengthen its people in the process of government and seriously weaken the customary excuses for a buccaneering expedition from the North. Fairness demands that we give President Hoover generous credit for his handling of the Haitian problem. The commission he appointed and which made an inquiry into the republic's affairs in 1930 vindicated the numerous anti-imperialists in the United States who had been protesting for several years the kind of interventionist policies we had instituted as well as the original causes of our intervention. There is probably little to be gained now in rehashing the ugly reasons why a loan of more than \$14,000,000 was foisted upon the people of Haiti in the first place, or recounting the brutality of our marines and the smug exploitation of the Haitians indulged in by some of our officials. While we consider 1932 a far better year to have the last marine off of Haitian soil, to see a definite date for our withdrawal agreed upon and provision made for the cessation of our fiscal oversight affords us no little relief. Let the watchword of this country, as it looks toward Haiti—and let the motto of our bankers, as well—be "Never Again!"

Spain Plows Ahead

Assailed at home by monarchist plots, by drives against the peseta on the part of angered investors from abroad, and by insurrectionist movements by disgruntled anarcho-syndicalists who have not been satisfied with a rule which still leaves a government at the center, the Spanish Republic has marched straight ahead with its program. In a year and a half it has accomplished enough in actual social change to shame any decade of progress elsewhere short of Russia. To be sure, the coalition government, containing as it does not only a handful of Socialist leaders whose expert knowledge on public affairs is recognized throughout Spain and in some cases the world around, but elements of conservatism, has not brought about as radical a transformation as many outsiders—who invariably assume superior wisdom toward the child of the 1931 revolution—have insisted should be the case. But to anyone acquainted with Spanish history and Spanish character, and in particular with the multiplicity of situations almost at the point of desperate crisis, which have long bedevilled the country, the amount of achievement to the credit of the new government is astounding.

The *Cortes*, or Parliament, has just recessed until October, leaving as its last act for the people an agrarian program that dispossesses the parasitical landlord class—who actually owned almost all of the worthwhile tillable land in the peninsula—and that breaks their last hold on the masses. The agrarian problem was the crux of the revolution. It was at this point that the German revolution really failed, leaving the way open for the junker coup this summer. If the

monarchist revolt of last month had immediately preceded the *Cortes'* consideration of the new labor code, it is possible that a far more radical document, generally progressive though that set of regulations is, might have been produced; for it is certain that the new government, having allowed the Duke of Alba, Count Romanones and their numerous satellites to appear more dangerous to the Republic than they actually are, felt free to dare moderate opinion with a really drastic agrarian measure.

Millions of acres will be opened up to the workers, whose status hitherto has been that of the Mexican peon under the infamous rule of Diaz. The new act expropriates the nobles' agrarian property without indemnity except for improvements upon which the investment has not been realized, or in the case of owners who can prove that they possess no other property. Contrary to the insinuations of critics from the left that the government would not pass a law to take effect at any early period, the new program commences at the end of September. "Persons eligible to receive expropriated lands," says a dispatch to the *New York Times*, "include farm laborers who have no lands of their own and land owners paying less than fifty pesetas (about \$3.75) annually, and who cultivate less than ten acres of non-irrigated or less than one acre of irrigated land."

The outline of this gigantic revolutionary land system, which provides constructively in many details for agricultural improvement and for re-ordering the whole life of the peasantry, was formed on paper before the revolution, as well as in the mind of Fernando de los Rios, Spain's great intellectual and practical Socialist. And no matter what defects there may be in the handling of the Republic thus far, Spain, with a minimum of violence, and matching as never before in history idealism and concrete revolutionary accomplishment, stands as a perpetual rebuke to the sluggishness of countries which, a short time ago, were accustomed to label her hopelessly medieval.

Economy—Sane and Insane

The President has made his choice. Rightly, as he should, he has decided that drastic economies can be effected in government expenditure; wrongly, with his customary bias in favor of the well-to-do, he has elected to economize at the expense of the unemployed. Mr. Hoover has asked every one of the executives in charge of federal activities to study means of saving, so that \$500,000,000 may be lopped off the budget during the next fiscal year. Does the President suggest that there be a sharp cut in the \$700,000,000 which, in round numbers, we shall be called upon to squander on the army and navy? Does he close his political eye to the American Legion Convention and reiterate his stand against the bonus and also make clear that he will prune off the \$450,000,000 which

is going annually to the Veterans' Bureau to be spent on the care of veterans whose injuries were not received during wartime? Has he changed his former attitude and told the country and Congress that we can spare the 2,000 reserve officers who were kept on the payroll after a movement to eliminate them was checked by "Handsome Pat" Hurley, Secretary of War?

Not at all. What the President does is to destroy more of the slim hope left for the unemployed victims of the depression. A "part" of the saving, he says, "can be accomplished in reduction of construction activities which have been so greatly speeded up [*sic*] during the past few years as an aid to employment. I believe we can reasonably predicate our budget in the confidence that such expenditures will be less necessary for employment purposes after June of next year." The President's bad English is excelled only by his bad statesmanship. We doubt that this renewed confidence is due to any expectation that a more capable successor will be in charge after next June; we can attribute this sort of sublime complacence only to that remoteness from reality which has distinguished Mr. Hoover's entire presidential career. Nothing could be more cruel than this species of bland optimism; for even though there were business indications of a substantial upturn more reliable than the deliberate propaganda of the press and the government, such a revival of good times could not possibly eradicate the dire need of work which will still exist among millions long after June of 1933.

Too Late

The latest reports are that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is going to call a meeting of the European powers to decide what steps ought to be taken to meet the German demands for equality in armaments. If the Germans persist in making good their threat to leave the disarmament conference, the conference will certainly fail and another European war will be only a matter of time. Mr. MacDonald is justified, therefore, in his anxiety. The press reports that the British Premier has a great faith in conferences and one might add, incidentally, in his own gifts as a mediator. He feels that both Von Papen and Herriot have a considerable degree of confidence in him, which he would like to make the basis of his mediatorial labors.

Perhaps something will come of Mr. MacDonald's hopes. But one cannot help feeling that what Herr Von Papen and M. Herriot think of Mr. MacDonald is a fairly unimportant consideration beside the fact that European nations hypocritically postponed the disarmament which they promised in the Versailles Treaty until they raised up a nationalism and conservatism in Germany which is more interested in achieving equality of armaments than in a general disarmament. If the Germans should gain their point, as well they may, the

Geneva disarmament conference will be like the London one: it will not reduce the armaments of the most heavily armed nations but will allow the unsatisfied nations to build up to the old standard. America was the beneficiary of the London conference and Germany may win a similar favor at Geneva.

There is something rather tragic about the belated wisdom of the nations. If the French policy on reparations at Lausanne had come five years earlier, Europe might be dealing with a sober rather than a desperate and nationalistic Germany. If disarmament had not been postponed so long, the militarists might not be in power in Germany today. Outraged national sentiment has given them their present eminence. One wonders whether modern nations are fated always to recognize the obvious so belatedly that the bitter fruits of their injustices can not be avoided by their tardy repentance and change of policy.

Sacred Property Rights

A recent issue of the *Financial Chronicle* emphasizes the fact that New York Central stock dropped from 256½ on August 30, 1929, to 8¾ on June 2, 1932. That is to say, more than 96 per cent of the higher value had disappeared when the stock struck bottom. This amazing fact caused us to make an examination of the fluctuation in values of other stocks. The following samples are not comparisons of 1929 quotations with those of 1932, but represent the highest point for 1931 (itself a year of calamitous depression) with the lowest level of the current year.

	Low for	High for
<i>Railways</i>		
Atchin., Topeka & Santa Fe	17½	203½
Atlantic Coast Line	9¾	120
Southern Pacific	6½	109½
Baltimore and Ohio	3¾	87½
Missouri Pacific	1½	42¾
Chicago, Rock Island & P.	1½	65½
Wabash	7/8	26
<i>Industrials, etc.</i>		
United States Steel	21¼	152½
Ingersoll Rand	14¾	182
Western Union	12¾	150¾
Standard Gas & Electric	7½	88¾
Anaconda Copper	3	43½
United Cigars Preferred	2½	76
Republic Steel	1¾	25¾

The fictitious nature of a considerable percentage of modern property value is laid bare to the bone by such contrasts as these, and hundreds of others that could quickly be assembled. What has happened? Surely the actual assets of these companies have not shrunk from 70 to 90 per cent! Watered stock and the capitalizing of earning power during a boom period were responsible for much of these inflated values. Yet our society makes no distinction in kinds of property. All of it is sacred and claims precedence over the human rights of the workers! How can sane men sanction such a system?



as Brailsford sees it

THE White Queen in Lewis Carroll's fairy tale felt pain and wrung her hands before she cut her finger. That is a most valuable endow-

ment, more particularly in queens. If it had ever become a fixed hereditary characteristic in any reigning family, we should all have been importing princesses of this gifted strain, much as beekeepers select queen bees that show a salutary variation. Plato and Mr. Wells, who proposed to breed statesmen, might have turned their attention to any methods that eugenics might suggest for encouraging this unusual characteristic by selection. The lack of it in the world's statesmen has all but undone our planet in recent years. If Mr. Hoover, for example, had felt his pockets growing lighter some months before the slump set in round about October, 1929; if M. Herriot or, still better, M. Poincaré could have experienced some years in advance the distress which overcomes them today as they watch the progress of the Nazi movement; if Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin could have felt some months before the Ottawa Conference met the pangs of disillusionment that have followed it, history might have taken a somewhat happier course.

One might dispense with this rare gift of feeling sensations in the reversed order of nature's processes if action to cope with disaster or to avert danger were to follow the event, or the signal of warning, with reasonable promptitude. It is above all the sluggishness of international action that staggers the spectator as he looks out on the world today. The Conference of Lausanne has at last, subject, indeed, to a satisfactory settlement of Europe's debt to America, reduced German reparations to a negligible figure, and given to this last harmless vestige of a crippling tribute the pleasant disguise of a contribution towards the economic restoration of the poorer regions of this continent. This immense alleviation came too late to arouse even a flicker of jubilation in Germany, too late to check the onward march of Hitler's army of despair, too late to save anything but the shell and the name of democracy. Had this boon come two or three years earlier, the avalanche of pessimism that is submerging the liberal Republic would have melted ere it descended. But the victors in the World War would not grant to pacific Socialist ministries, nor even to those moderate Conservatives, Stresemann and

Europe Expects—

Brüning, the concession they have made at last to the Junker cabinet of Von Papen.

Three years after the world slump began in the

fall of 1929 a conference of the Great Powers is about to meet to consider what steps can be taken by international action to raise the general level of prices. These three years have inflicted on mankind a misery which surpasses, save in physical pain and the anguish of bereavement, the distresses of the World War itself. In anxiety, humiliation, and physical privation one can compare it only to the effects of a siege or a blockade: it has turned free men into debt-slaves by the million; where devastation fell on a luckless province that armies trampled, this scourge has wasted the whole planet by slowing down the activity of every hand and every wheel. Thrice its anniversary has come round, and only now do governments meet to discuss the means of arresting it. Students of prehistoric life tell us that in all probability the imposing monsters of the early geologic epochs, from the dinosaurs to the mastodons, went under because their colossal bulk forbade them to act promptly under the stimulus of peril. If three years intervene between the flash of a danger signal and the first concerted movement of defense, this Leviathan that is the world's first effort to evolve an international society will bequeath in its turn only fossilized bones to the curiosity of future generations.

THE baffling complexity of this problem of concerted international action lies in the fact that the mental processes of the peoples move, in the face of the same facts, at such curiously different speeds. The English had their period of folly over reparations, which ranged from high to low, and the former Governor of the Bank of England was as brainless in his fantastic estimates of what Germany could pay as the mobs that cheered statesmen who proposed to hang the Kaiser. But slowly and gradually economic sanity returned to us as we began to reflect on our experience. The first symptom of something amiss came within the first months after the peace. It seemed a clever stroke to confiscate virtually the whole of Germany's mercantile marine. Within a few weeks ships were selling for little more than the price of scrap-iron. Within a few months the shipbuilding yards on Clyde and Tyne, Mersey and Thames, stood idle. This sharp lesson

set us thinking, and the time came when even the average man perceived that one-sided payments from one nation to another, whether in kind or cash, payments which effect no exchange of goods and services, and call forth no answering activity in return, can result only in impoverishment and unemployment to the nation that receives. The French, for excellent reasons on which one need not enlarge, were very much slower to grasp this paradox, nor did it wholly apply, in the early years of restoration, to their special case. At last, with infinite difficulty, too late for Europe's health and possibly too late for Europe's peace, they too have grasped it.

AND now in the slow process of emancipation from fallacy Europe waits on America. The cases, to be sure, are not exactly parallel, any more than they were as between England and France. Europe is paying to America, as Germany was not, for value received, value indeed of a disastrous kind, for it was sunk in engines of destruction, priced to be sure at the fevered levels of wartime, enhanced by the customary reckonings of interest, and in recent years swollen out of all recognition by the appreciation in the buying power of gold—a debt with a history, a debt that has grown by bankers' conjuring. None the less, this is an exchange, though separated by the lapse of years, of value for value, labor for labor, as reparations were not. Yet with all the differences the usual difficulties arise. How shall Europe pay: in gold or goods? But all the gold is in Paris or New York, and against the goods the barrier of the tariff towers. Behind the whole complicated conundrum lurks the fundamental paradox of capitalism: it cannot distribute its surplus wealth. You may export your surplus as a loan to Germany; you cannot receive the interest. We may send our gold to you; it lies in the vaults of Wall Street, and by its total uselessness there, curses both your country and us, and sets the business slump in motion.

So each waits on the enlightenment of the other, and Europe stands motionless and expectant, her activity frozen, her confidence in the future non-existent, until she shall know what action a President yet to be elected will take about these debts. She cannot of her own motion break the vicious circle in which she stands spellbound. She can only parody Nelson's signal at Trafalgar, and send across the Atlantic her message: "Europe expects that every American this day will do his duty. It is perhaps the hardest of all duties: to think with realism."

But fatally, while she sends this signal, Europe, in the grip of history, does precisely those things which must militate against the cancellation of debts. Rendered desperate by the world slump and the ebbing of the export trade by which she lived, England, in an hour of panic which struck her Premier as it struck

the simplest voter, destroys her Labour Government, despairs of international coöperation and builds her last vanishing hopes upon a plunge into imperialism. The Ottawa Conference meets, and disperses to disclose to the American farmer that round its table a substantial area of his world market has vanished. I will not enlarge upon the other results of this conference, which must involve a rise in the cost of living in England, the loss of some valuable foreign markets, and a blow to Russia; it is the repercussion on the question of debt that concerns us. The debtor, hoping for alleviation, aims this back-hander at the creditor. And yet the thing was done with the automatism of a sleep-walker. The hopeless delay in the work of international coöperation drove the British Empire to self-help.

The case at Geneva runs parallel. The endless delays in dealing with debts and reparations, the respective time-lags in the thinking of England, France and America, drove Germany desperate. She, too, despaired of concerted action, took to self-help and presented us with the choice between a Junker government and a fascist counter-revolution. And therefore France dare not disarm, and England, perceiving that order in Europe crumbles, elects to take her stand with France. Each of us is by turns the victim of the tardiness of the other. Deserving little, hoping little, we signal to our fellow-mastodon, as tardy in its motions as ourselves, and as deeply responsible for the chaos: "Europe expects ——."

H. V. Maitland

London, August 30, 1932.

Europe—1932

HERE where the old world hate brews bitterness,
Where restless boundaries writhe like goaded
snakes,
The heritage of manifold mistakes
Bears on the nations with relentless stress.
Each has its nurtured fears and sick excess
Of chauvinistic sentiment; each slakes
Its private thirst with public wine and breaks
Its neighbor's meager bread with greediness.

I stand among you, but in cloistered thought,
And though incredulous as one who wakes
From peaceful sleep to warring consciousness,
I am not one who easily forsakes
A difficult devotion—I have sought
A new forbearance in your old distress.

DORIS WETZEL JACOBSEN

Is Peace or Justice the Goal?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

WHILE the greater portion of the religious community is always on the side of economic and political conservatism, religion has never been without its champions of radicalism, who condemned the contemporary injustices of society because their religious ideals gave them a perspective from which they could fully appreciate the cruelties and immoralities of a traditional social system. There has been a dissenting group of radicals in the institutions of religion from the earliest times to the present day. In spite of that fact, the secular radical is inclined to be contemptuous of the social resources of religion and to regard the religious radical as a sentimentalist. The religious radical hopes for, and dreams of, an ideal and just society; but he does not understand by what policies such a society is to be established. He thinks that if only he can teach all people to love each other, or if only all men will become more intelligent and socially minded, the Kingdom of God will be established. So at least it seems to the secular radical.

There is a real measure of justification for this criticism of religious radicalism by the secular radical or, to speak in contemporary terms, the real Marxian. The average religious idealist has little understanding of the inevitable weaknesses of human nature, particularly in its collective behavior. He imagines that justice can be established by education and without conflict. He thinks, in other words, that the strong and the privileged can be made so moral that they will either use their privileges for the common good or divest themselves of those privileges for the welfare of society. The whole history of mankind is a refutation of this hope.

What probably leads the religious man astray is that the highest religious insights proceed from the conscience of individual men; and what is possible for the individual is immediately regarded as a possibility for a class. Religious idealists might well qualify their hopes of achieving an ideal society by voluntary moral action by the astute observation of David Hume that if the predominant egotism of man is not really true, it is nevertheless politically true. If single individuals might actually achieve a truly unselfish conduct, there would not be a sufficient number of them to change the behavior of their communities. It is the behavior of these human communities and groups with which politics deals. Probably no one will deny that every degree of social imagination, moral good-will and unselfishness which education and religion can develop, can qualify the social struggle by just so much.

But any social education or religious idealism which proceeds upon the assumption that a just society can be established without setting the interests of the dis-inherited against the interests of the privileged, is bound to obscure the real facts of human nature which a thorough education ought to reveal.

Our own modern radical Christianity has been far too intimately associated with conventional religious liberalism to have a realistic estimate of human nature. The old orthodoxies were much more realistic about human nature than liberal Protestantism. Their realism did not issue in social radicalism, partly because they interpreted the moral problem in terms too personal and partly because they were so realistic about the brutal facts of human society that they were tempted to defeatism. They saw no possibility of establishing a Kingdom of God on earth and therefore transmuted their hopes into trans-historical ones. This modern romanticism in the churches is not really a typical product of religion. It is the fruit of nineteenth century middle class liberalism and optimism, which the Christian church imbibed when it went about the business of adjusting its traditional religious affirmations to the atmosphere of modern culture. The modern church became optimistic in regard to human nature partly because it was betrayed by middle class culture and partly because the church is itself middle class and would therefore have a natural sympathy for the expansive sentimentalities of the middle class world.

The middle classes do not know how high a price must be paid for the elimination of injustice from society. Their class defeated the landed aristocrats and gained its present privileges in society without the kind of desperate social struggle which labor must carry on for the realization of its rights. There was a struggle of course, but the rise of commerce and industry gave the middle classes tools with which to defeat the landed gentry. But the continued development of industry, with its surplus of labor, its depressions and its centralization of power, increasingly robs the worker of economic strength, so that he must win either by political pressure or by violence what he has lost in the industrial world. Another reason for the moral complacency and optimism of the middle classes is the obvious one that the authors of injustice are less aware of either its reality or brutality than the victims. Privileged classes in society can enjoy the luxury of the illusion that human nature is quite unselfish, that it is becoming progressively more unselfish and

that every charitable gesture of the men of power and privilege is a proof of it.

CHRISTIAN radicalism is just beginning to cut itself free of the prejudices and dogmas of Christian liberalism and a great deal of thought and life must be given to this problem before the divorce will be completed. The founder of American Christian radicalism, Walter Rauschenbusch, and practically all of his followers and disciples, stood squarely inside of the liberal tradition. Rauschenbusch saw what the ordinary liberal churchman did not see, the injustice of the contemporary social order. He had a holy zeal for a social ideal which was essentially socialistic. But he had no conception of the class struggle. He expected that the just society could be built altogether by educational and purely moral means. While his thought and analysis was much more rigorous than most of the contemporary thought which flies the colors of the so-called "social gospel," it belongs nevertheless to that school. In the expanding economy of American life during his day the full tragedy of the social struggle between the classes could hardly have been apparent to him. It was apparent to hardly any one else. But the time has come when religious radicals will have to think beyond Rauschenbusch.

Incidentally, the middle-class, rather than specifically Christian, character of the romantic conceptions of human nature and human society which prevail in the modern church, is most perfectly established by the fact that the modern school and university hold it in common with the church. So-called democratic educators like to lift themselves above religion in contemptuous pride, because they believe they have found a better way to the ideal society than religion promised. Religion was going to produce an ideal society by converting individuals. The modern school is going to do it by educating individuals. It will "socialize" them by education. Of the limits of such a socialization process in the economic interests of the various classes, the modern school has only the slightest conception. If anything, the modern educator is even more romantic than the modern liberal Christian. The Christian has something in his tradition about all men being sinners, which prevents him from being as completely romantic as the educator. Just enough of the old idea of the total depravity of man is left in the church, anxious as it has been to disavow that old doctrine, to save it from complete capitulation to the illusions of liberalism.

ONCE the religious idealist has arrived at the conclusion that justice cannot be established by education alone, he is of course forced to condone the use of social coercion and resistance for the attainment of social justice. In some sense or other he is forced to accept the idea of the class struggle. He usually de-

cides that the struggle of the poor against the rich, of the workers against the owners, is necessary, but he is anxious to confine the struggle to non-violent methods. Most Christian radicals have taken heart from the example of Gandhi and feel that the Orient has given the Occident a lesson in a new way of combining spiritual and moral factors with the principle of coercion.

SINCE it is hard to keep social conflict from degenerating into violence, and since violence, particularly in the intricacies of our technological civilization, may become a suicidal method of social change, this emphasis upon non-violence on the part of the Christian radical is distinctly valuable. Nothing will help modern society more than experimenting with types of coercion which do not arouse the passions of opponents unduly and which do not threaten the intricate mechanism of modern society with chaos. Underprivileged classes and nationalities will gain much if they can learn how to resist injustice by more than moral suasion (since moral suasion is inadequate to defeat injustice) without destroying the educational and moral process of society. If we can maintain a non-violent temper in the midst of a social conflict, we may be able to educate even while we are resisting. That is the value of non-violence. It might be well to mention the Negroes as a group which might gain particular advantages from the use of non-violent resistance and non-coöperation. It is the most obviously disinherited group in America. If it does not yet know, it must soon learn that it will never win its full rights purely by moral suasion. Some advantages have been won in that way in the fields of education and conciliation, but only minimum rights have been granted and they do not alter the general character of the Negroes' political disfranchisement and economic disinheritance. At the same time, violence is a particularly dangerous weapon for a minority group such as the Negroes. More violence can be used against such a minority than it is able to use. Furthermore, appeal to violence stiffens the moral conceit of dominant groups and gives a measure of plausibility to their insistence that the challenge of their dominance is a threat against law and order. It puts the moral imponderables on the side of the privileged. What is true of the Negro is equally true of every disinherited group, and more particularly those which are in a minority and have little immediate hope of achieving greater numerical strength.

In spite of the value of this insistence upon non-violence on the part of the religious radical, there are some moral confusions attached to it which must be overcome. The religious radical is probably wrong in believing that there is an intrinsic difference between violence and non-violence. The differences are pragmatic rather than intrinsic. The social consequences

of the two methods are different, but the differences are in degree rather than in kind. Both place restraint upon liberty and both may destroy life and property. Once the principle of coercion and resistance has been accepted as necessary to the social struggle, and pure pacifism has thus been abandoned, the differences between violence and non-violence lose some of their significance though they remain important. Gandhi is probably more realistic than most religious radicals when he suggests that, while non-violent methods of social change are the natural instruments of a non-violent spirit, nevertheless perfect moral goodwill may sometimes have to make use of methods which are not immediately or obviously compatible with the spirit of goodwill. So he justifies his burning of foreign cloth and other policies which a pure pacifism does not sanction.

These distinctions are important, because if they are

not made the religious radical will constantly find himself in the position of preferring peace to justice and having his preference for peace transmuted into support of the *status quo*. The contemporary peace of any society is full of both injustice and coercion. But the coercion is covert propaganda, economic power, etc., and the injustice is traditional. It is therefore no more ethical than the policy of an advancing social group which tries to destroy the present system by more obvious, and perhaps more dangerous, forms of coercion than those employed by the classes in power at the moment.

The great problem of modern society is to achieve justice without violence. The great peril for those who make this effort is the temptation to accept a peace which is less than just and to sanction types of covert coercion which are immoral even though they do not issue in overt violence.

Who Are the Republicans?*

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

BY the average church-going, middle class American in the states north of the Mason and Dixon Line, the Republican Party has been regarded as the political group to which respectable citizens as a matter of course belong. Not only does the aura of Lincoln and the Civil War give a sanctity to its origin, but it is the body with which the local bankers, most of the respectable professional men and the majority of the ministers are affiliated. The fact that in the past the camp-followers of Grant and of Harding transformed the White House into a shambles of corruption is ignored and forgotten and it is instead believed that the rulers of the party are of the stamp of Taft, Root and Hughes, who have represented the conservative tradition at its best.

Now it needs to be observed that such leaders as these, while personally honorable, are also extremely conservative. They are believers in a high protective tariff and are opponents of all attempts to tax the wealthy on any extensive scale. They believe in having the government keep its hands off the work-contract between employers and employees and seem oblivious to the fact that this merely permits the stronger to dictate terms to the weaker, making the latter still more impotent. They have not strenuously resisted the corruption which the public utilities and the special interests have carried on in our municipal and state life, and they have been oblivious to the need for social insurance and a collective planning of the great elemental services upon which the well-being of our country de-

pends. However much we may like them as individuals, they are not men to whom the present generation can look with hope for either guidance or aid in the dark days which are around us or in the period which is to follow. We cannot trust our political destinies to them.

But these men are not and never have been the real rulers of the Republican Party. They have been used more or less as a façade to convince the multitude that the temple of the party was clean and solid, but they have not and do not greatly influence the actual decisions which the party makes. The real machinery lies in other hands, namely, those of the big business groups of the country who want special favors from government and those of the professional corruptionists who play politics as a game whereby they may enrich themselves at the expense of the commonwealth. Thus the textile and the iron and steel manufacturers are overwhelmingly Republicans and can always be relied upon to make liberal contributions to the party which first levied, and has since increased, the protective duties behind which they are enabled to get higher prices from the body of consumers. As Walter Meyer has observed, if the farmers of the Middle West are for the tariff because they are Republicans, these manufacturing groups are Republicans because they are for the tariff. Similarly, public utility operators have helped to support the dominant party on condition that it does not regulate them with any degree of persistence; while the great body of business men have been its devotees because of its tacit policy of keeping out of business except when the financiers needed it to

* This is the first of a series of four articles describing the personnel of each of the political parties. Mr. Douglas's analysis of the Democratic Party will appear in our next issue.—THE EDITORS.

take sour investments off their hands. Joined to these groups and often in close alliance with them are the professional birds of prey commonly designated as politicians.

If any one thinks that it is an exaggeration to declare that these groups completely dominate the party, he has but to review its composition from state to state. Thus in Maine the two dominant forces in the party and indeed in the state are Mr. Guy P. Gannett and Mr. Walter S. Wyman, both of whom were active functionaries in the late Insull empire. They were the dominant directors of the attempt to get the state to permit the export of power in 1929, to which one of Mr. Insull's companies, according to the Federal Trade Commission studies, contributed \$200,000. In the neighboring state of New Hampshire, the manufacturers and the public utility interests now occupy almost the same position of power as that formerly possessed by the Boston and Maine Railroad which Winston Churchill has chronicled in *Coniston* and *Mr. Crewe's Career*. The cynical and wise-cracking George H. Moses is the Republican leader of that state rather than the serious and somewhat progressive John G. Winant. The party in Massachusetts takes its orders in all essential matters from the textile, paper and boot and shoe manufacturers; the bankers of Milk Street, and the utility interests, as well as from a goodly number of extremely practical politicians like Mr. Charles H. Innis. Rhode Island is a rotten borough state where all towns have equal representation in one branch of the legislature irrespective of their size. One town with approximately 250 inhabitants has, therefore, as much representation in that legislative chamber as has Providence with a thousand times as many citizens. The manufacturing, utility, and banking interests of the state are able to control enough of these Old Sarums to prevent the eight-hour day from being passed or the city workers from being aided in other ways. Though the blatant corruption which characterized the days of Blind Boss Brayton is no longer as visible, the real seats of power have not been appreciably altered.

THE Connecticut situation is notorious. Not only is that state characterized by rotten boroughs, but the leader of the Republican Party is Mr. J. Henry Roraback, who is also the head of the most important public utility company. Connecticut voters have in increasing numbers been asking themselves whether it was any accident that the Republican legislators in the last session defeated all the efforts made to increase the powers of the public utilities commission and forced Governor Cross to withdraw the appointment of Professor Richard Joyce Smith. Mr. Roraback's services are so highly valued by the national party that he has been made a vice-chairman of the committee which is directing the presidential campaign for Mr. Hoover.

In New York the upstate leaders in the party represent the conservative and propertied interests and have fought all attempts to have the state develop the power of Niagara. In Westchester the veteran William L. Ward still holds sway, while in New York City the party has been well described as being the jackal for the Tammany tiger. Its Manhattan leader, Mr. Samuel S. Koenig, has long been charged with having a secret agreement with Tammany to permit the latter to control the city in return for some minor offices and incidental favors. Mr. Koenig's brother was, for example, elected to the bench with the aid of Tammany.

If we pass over New Jersey, where the party had at least the grace to elect Dwight Morrow to the Senate, we come to Pennsylvania. Ever since the Republican Party was founded in that state it has been deeply permeated with corruption and almost permanently reactionary. The Camerons were followed by Mathew Quay, and he in turn by Penrose, and throughout the party's history in the State scandal followed scandal. At present the two chief groups are the Vare machine of Philadelphia and the local organization in Pittsburgh. Behind the Vare group has stood in the main the large business and banking interests of Philadelphia. The real reason why even no middle class reform movement has been able to continue long in that city is that most of the so-called "best citizens" of the city have received in one way or another special favors from the machine and therefore not only do not fight it but actually support it. The Pittsburgh organization is scarcely better, and according to the Senatorial Committee of 1926, headed by Senator Reed, the whole organization in Western Pennsylvania was led by the Mellons. Gifford Pinchot has succeeded in being elected governor only because, with the aid of ex-Senator Grundy (who has his own scores to pay), he has been able to slip in between these two corrupt and mutually hostile groups. Some idea of the level of public life within the regular wings of the party in that state can be gained from the disclosures which Governor Pinchot has made concerning funds furnished to members of the Utility Commission, from the conviction of Mayor Charles Kline of Pittsburgh of malfeasance in office, from the admission made by former Mayor Harry A. Mackey of Philadelphia that he received a retainer of \$1,000 a month from the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company when he was a member of the Workmen's Compensation Board, and from the recent indictment of Senator James J. Davis in New York on the charges of fraud in conducting a lottery.

OHIO, the proverbial mother of presidents, must own up to Republican machines as suddenly materialistic as those of any state in the country. One has only to remember the Foraker and the Hanna machines, Boss Cox of Cincinnati and the cronies of

resident Harding to catch the flavor of much of Ohio politics. The Republican machine in Cincinnati, even though it has lost control of the city, is still unrelentant, while Maurice Maschke, the Harvard graduate who has recently been indicted, is still boss of the Cleveland organization. In the neighboring city of Toledo a close adviser of the President, Postmaster-general Walter F. Brown, is in control of the party. It is such men as these and their lesser counterparts who really run the party in the state. Indiana is the state of jailbird and near-jailbird governors. It is the state which D. C. Stephenson, the former Klan leader, who is now in prison, only a few years ago held in the hollow of his hand. How much real hope rests in the party in that state is evidenced by the fact that Senator Jim Watson is the finest flower of Hoosier statesmanship.

In Illinois the situation is, if anything, worse. Not only has Len Small been renominated for governor by the party, but the Thompson faction and its allies are in control of the organization in Chicago. Two of Thompson's political associates, Dan Serritella and Chris Paschen, have just been convicted and sentenced to jail for income tax frauds, and such other leaders as Rowe, Harding, Barrett, and Brundage are but little better than Thompson. Senator Deneen is himself a man who cannot be bribed, but the exigencies of politics have incorporated in his organization many men with an unsavory record, among whom one has only to

mention the late "Diamond Joe" Esposito, Frank J. Link, convicted of fraud in the Sanitary District trials, and John Bain, who has just been sentenced to prison as the result of actions connected with the sensational 40 million dollar failure of his chain of banks.

One might continue with similar results to go into the politics of other states and show how the Anaconda Copper Company controls the party in Montana; how Senator Phipps, the Carnegie millionaire, together with the railroads, the mining companies, and the beet sugar companies, dominates the Republican party of Colorado; and of how the timber interests, the utilities, the bankers, and the railroads are able to have their way in all major party matters in the three coast states of California, Oregon and Washington.

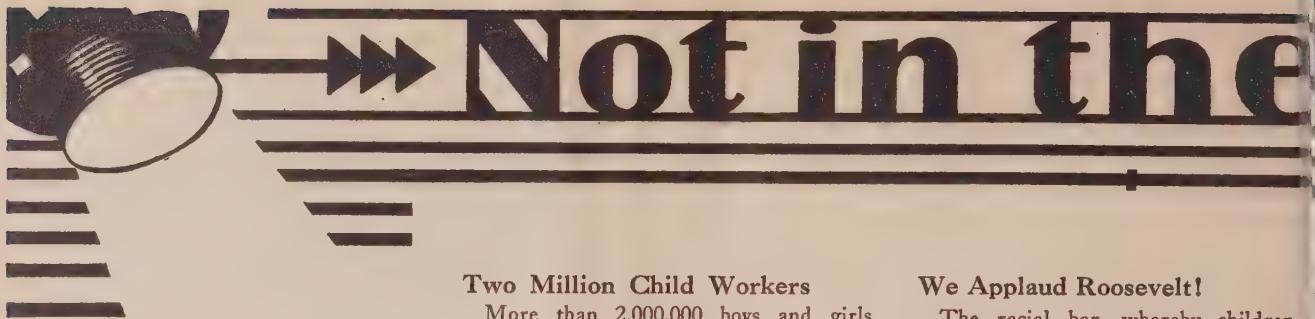
Such being the real composition of the Republican Party in the states of its strength, it is futile to expect that the party can be captured on a national scale by progressives like Senators Norris, La Follette, or Borah. These men are as a matter of fact virtually powerless inside the national party.

Similarly futile is the promise which ambitious and well-meaning young men have been making themselves for the last half-century, namely, that they would go into the Republican Party to "reform" it. If they stay in, they generally become, with the passage of time, indistinguishable from the old chieftains. The miasma of American life conquers and the Grand Old Party remains as it was before.

"Tammany!"



Rollin Kirby in *The New York World*, 1928.



British Methodists Unite

September 20 marks the formal union of the three Methodist bodies of Great Britain, the Wesleyan, the United Methodist, and the Primitive Methodists. The Wesleyans have 868,795 members; the United Methodists 181,054, and the Primitive Methodists 222,978. These uniting conferences have 50,719 lay preachers and 23,119 local church organizations.

California Methodists Resolve

"The present industrial order is unchristian, unethical, and anti-social," declares a committee of the Southern California Methodist Annual Conference. Among its recommendations are the suppression of stock gambling, "with the pyramiding of false values . . . short selling of securities and market pool manipulations"; the introduction of compulsory unemployment insurance and old age pensions; opposition to "all forms of race discrimination and the demand that our Church should operate without discrimination against any person on account of either race or nation"; opposition to military training in the high schools and compulsory military training in colleges and universities; the entrance of the United States into the World Court and the League of Nations.

Socialists on Ballot

Efforts of old-party politicians to keep minority groups off the ballot have been thwarted by the Socialists in state after state. Clarence Senior, campaign director, reported recently to the party's national executive committee. Socialists have definitely won a legal right to a place on the ballot in forty states, he said. The states where the party has ballot fights pending are Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, West Virginia and Oklahoma. In Idaho and Louisiana voters will have to write in the names of Socialist candidates. In Idaho local and state candidates will be on the ballot but the national ticket will not. In Louisiana no minority party has been able to get on the ballot since 1916. Only in Nevada will it be impossible to vote the Socialist ticket. The necessary signatures to a petition in this sparsely settled state could not be obtained with the available resources, and the state makes no provision for writing names in on the ballot.

Two Million Child Workers

More than 2,000,000 boys and girls from ten to seventeen years of age, according to the National Child Labor Committee, were gainfully employed in 1930, of whom 667,118 were under sixteen years. Over 3,000,000 children seven to seventeen years of age, inclusive, were not attending school in 1930, of whom 1,332,872 were under sixteen years.

Louisiana Attacks Child Labor

Described as the "banner state of the year" by the National Child Labor Committee, Louisiana has enacted three constructive child labor bills in 1932. One establishes a sixth grade requirement for children between fourteen and sixteen leaving school in New Orleans for work, and provides for temporary work permits for children with physical defects pending correction, and for the appointment of a safety engineer and a vocational counsellor by the city of New Orleans. Under the second measure, New Orleans children must attend school until they are sixteen, regardless of school grade, unless they are over fourteen and legally employed. The third act empowers municipalities to establish compulsory continuation schools for employed children of work permit age.

Juvenile Delinquency's Ups and Downs

A slightly higher juvenile delinquency rate was recorded during the year 1930 as compared with the three-year period 1927-1929, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor announced in making public its fourth annual report on court statistics. At the same time, the Bureau announced that figures received subsequent to compilation of the report indicate that the upward trend was not maintained throughout the year 1930 and that an actual drop in the delinquency curve was evident in 1931. The number of girls brought before the juvenile courts is much smaller than the number of boys. Offenses having to do with liquor or drugs accounted for only one per cent of 53,757 juvenile delinquency cases reported in 1930 by 88 of the 92 juvenile courts. Stealing and acts of carelessness or mischief accounted for 44 per cent and 27 per cent respectively of the boys' cases, whereas being ungovernable, sex offenses, running away and truancy were the charges which brought most of the girls to court.

We Applaud Roosevelt!

The racial bar, whereby children of Philippine parentage were barred from attending the Central School in Manila, has been removed by Governor-General Roosevelt.

Another Friendship Project

The Federal Council of Churches is sponsoring another project designed to create friendship among children of various nations. This time it is Friendship Folios for China, and children in the country are urged to participate in the campaign to send to China folios containing pictures large enough for framing and hanging on the walls of schools in the land.

Rights for American Indians

To remove 194,500 American Indians from their status as wards of the federal government and grant them the civil rights enjoyed by other citizens, is the object of a campaign for legislation forecast in a pamphlet entitled "The Indian Primer" just issued by the Committee of Indian Civil Rights of the American Civil Liberties Union. Support for bills to achieve this end is being rallied in advance of the 1933 Congressional session. Only recently has any effort been made to change the civil condition of the Indians. At every step, the Union declares, that effort has encountered the opposition of the Indian Bureau and the Department of the Interior. Although an American citizen, the A. C. L. U. points out, no Indian ward can make contracts, borrow money, draw his own money, bequeath property, or hire a lawyer without permission of the Indian Bureau's agents. The tribes must accept the Bureau agents appointed for them, even when the agents are paid from tribal funds.

Railroads Keep On Losing

Class one railways suffered a net loss of over \$127,000,000 in the first half of 1932, recent reports indicate, while the same period in 1931 showed a small income amounting to \$21,143,329. In June of 1931, for example, there was a net income of \$21,414,543, but in June of 1932 there was a net loss of \$20,722,700. Dividend declarations for the first half of 1932 dropped off to the tune of nearly \$137,000,000 as against the first six months of 1931.

Headlines

Turkey's Three Year Plan

Italy has loaned the Turkish Government 15 million dollars with which to inaugurate a three-year industrial program. A vigorous trend toward state monopolies is visible in Turkey; the production, manufacture and marketing of tobacco, cigarettes, salt, gunpowder, and alcoholic beverages already being under state direction. Imports into Turkey are now on a quota basis.

How to Get Rich Quick

The average cost of producing wheat in the United States last year was 81 cents a bushel, whereas the farmer received an average of 47 cents, reports the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Outbursts of Anti-Semitism

From the Rhine to the Vistula, and from the Baltic to the Aegean, an epidemic of anti-Semitism is raging, says the *New Statesman and Nation*, "with a vindictiveness that almost surpasses all previous manifestations of anti-Jewish hatred since the end of the war." Especially virulent have been the outbursts in many universities of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. The Prussian Diet has passed a measure confiscating the property of Polish Jews who entered the country after 1914, and the legality of the law is now being tested.

More in Six Months than in Ten Years

There were 808 bank failures in the United States during the first six months of 1932, as compared with only 714 during the entire decade preceding the World War, reports the National Industrial Conference Board. During the last 11½ years the number of bank suspensions in this country reached the stupendous total of 10,093.

F. O. R. Secretary Urges Vote for Thomas

Mr. J. B. Matthews has sent to the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation a leaflet on Politics and Peace, in which he analyzes the platforms and records of the different parties on questions affecting world peace, and concludes with a vigorous appeal for support for the Socialist national ticket.

When They Are Most Needed

Public libraries in the United States usually spend about 19 million dollars annually for new books and periodicals, but this year appropriations have been cut to about 14½ millions.

Not Enough Synagogues

In the United States there are 471 cities and towns which have more than 100 Jewish residents and yet which do not have a Reform Congregation, according to the *Hebrew Union College Monthly*.

Not Enough Free Cotton

The 500,000 bales of cotton voted by Congress to the American Red Cross is utterly inadequate to meet the demand, says the vice-chairman, James L. Fieser. "Thirteen hundred of the 3,600 chapters estimating emergency needs in their communities show a total of 8,000,000 men, women and children destitute for clothing. This leaves a large part of the nation unheard from."

British Unions Shift Organization

The Council of the General Federation of Trade Unions in Great Britain, at its recent meeting at Aberystwyth, Wales, voted to "rationalize" its union bodies, to correspond with the employers' movement which has resulted in the formation of combines and trusts in industry. The industrial form of organization is recommended to meet this condition. "The Council considers," it says, "that multiplicity of unions in an industry is inimical to the general well-being of workers."

Socialist Coöperative Dormitories

Coöperative dormitories for men and women students at the University of Michigan who are finding their college paths blocked by the depression will be operated by the Michigan Socialist Club, a student organization at the University. The Club plans two houses in the beginning, one for men and one for women. If the demand for reservations continues, Socialist Club leaders say, it will be possible to have three or four houses. Room and board will be furnished for \$2.00 per week. The men's dormitory, which will be known as the Michigan Socialist House for Men, has been approved by the official inspector of houses for the University.

De Luxe Fighting Base

These words are used by the New York *Times* in describing the new headquarters of the Republican National Committee in New York City. Forty rooms at the Waldorf-Astoria furnished in "green and gold and white aluminum, with heavy rugs of velveteen sheen, combined to make the new quarters the last word in luxury and comfort."

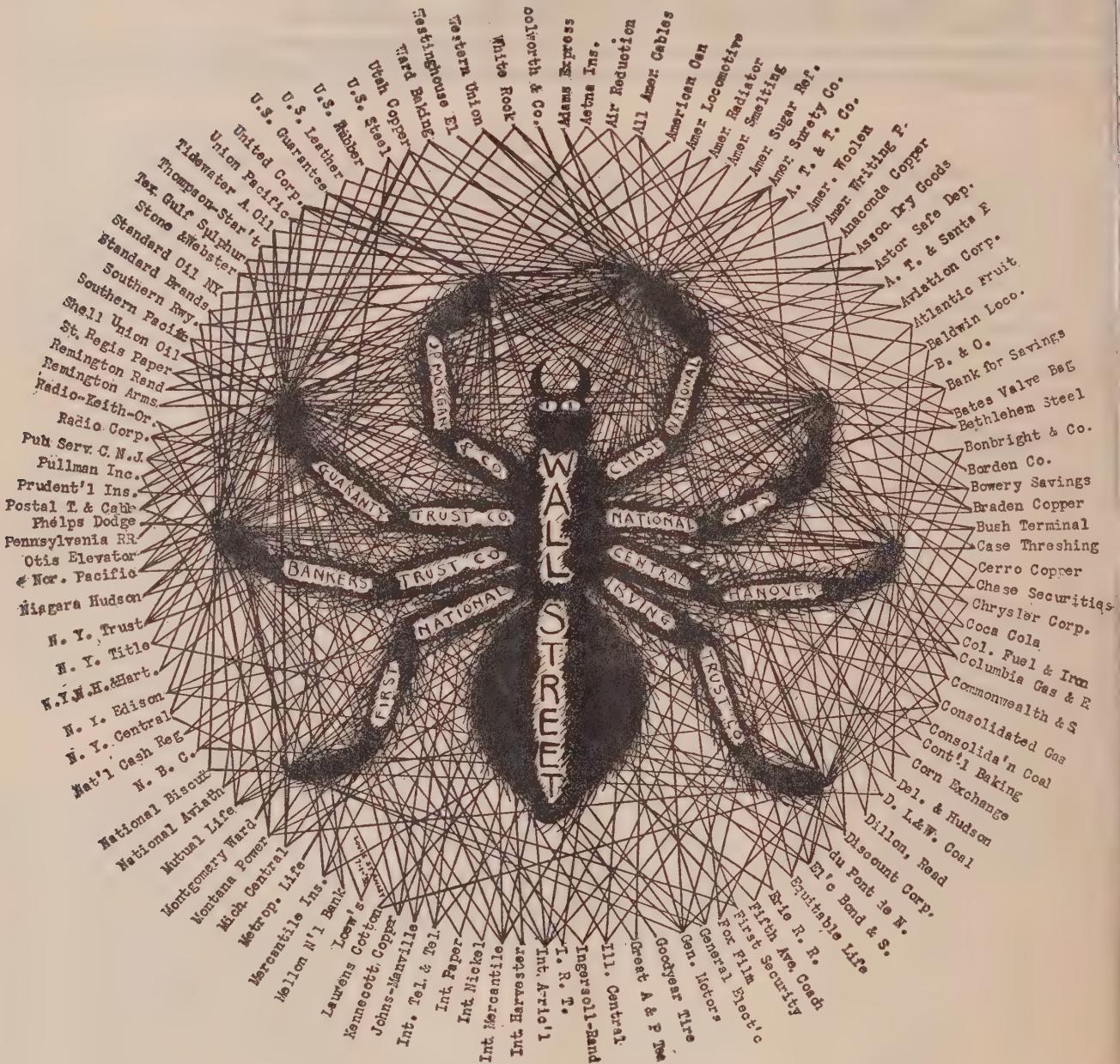
Liberal Lawyers Needed!

Lawyers among the readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW who are interested in the cause of civil liberty are requested by the American Civil Liberties Union to volunteer for service in cases which are constantly coming up in many parts of the country. These cases involve questions of free speech, free press, and free assemblage. Especially is there need of attorneys in New York City who will do legal research and briefing. Those who are willing to serve are asked to communicate with the Union at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

How Austrian Labor Is Faring

A survey of the difficulties under which trade unions have been struggling in Austria, though on the whole keeping up their strength remarkably well, has been published in *Arbeit und Wirtschaft*, organ of the Austrian National Trade Union Center. It reveals that the customary close relationship between a decline in union membership and unemployment holds good to an extraordinary degree. A rise of approximately 70,000 in the number of unemployed is paralleled by a decrease of membership in the unions amounting to 72,500. During 1931, counting in commerce, industry, and the professions, but excluding those who have left agriculture or forestry, the total number of unemployed rose to 363,000. Despite the strain of the period, which has demanded the creation of defense tactics against fascist disrupters, the unions have not lost their zest for making union membership appealing to the workers in a cultural sense; at Purkersdorf they have established a highly successful home for trade union youth. It is worth noting that out of 582,000 manual and non-manual workers in the trade union movement, 128,482, or more than 22 per cent, are women.

The Spider Web of Wall Street



1. This chart represents interlocking directorates on July 1, 1932, between the eight leading banking institutions in New York City on the one hand and 120 major corporations on the other.

2. Each line means that the company and the bank or banks connected by the line have at least one director or similar official in common. The chart may look complicated but it is in fact a simplification of the actual state of affairs. No attempt has been made to indicate where there are two or more identical director-

ships between a company and a bank. Only a few of the total number of corporations with which the eight banking institutions symbolized by the legs of the Wall Street spider are interlocked appear in the chart. Five hundred corporations alone are connected with two or more of the eight banks by the same directors. Of this number approximately 160 have common directors in three or more banks. The web only indicates 120 companies which are most typical of American capitalism. They are found among railroads, public utilities, insurance companies, banks,

investment corporations, manufacturing enterprises, chain stores, etc.

3. *The Socialist Party would break the grip of this mighty empire on the people of the country. Whoever owns the industries and capital of the nation, controls the lives of its people. While reformers talk of restoring government to the people, the Socialists would restore industry to the people and see to it that it is run democratically for service and not for profit.*

—By LOUIS STANLEY in the New Leader

My Ninth Visit to Russia

SHERWOOD EDDY

RUSSIA—challenging, disturbing, irritating, yet ever tragically interesting and significant. I had made eight previous visits to that country during the last twenty years, under both Czarist and Communist regimes, and now, after my ninth visit, I am more than ever convinced that the most significant thing upon this planet is now coming into being there.

Among the Losses, Limitations and Liabilities noted this year, as compared to the situation in 1931, I made the following observations: 1. There exists what would be called in any other country a very serious "inflation," though here they indignantly deny the term and the fact. There is a sharp depreciation in the value of the rouble, a falling off in its purchasing power, a lower standard of living this year than in any recent year, save for large classes of privileged workers who have access to "closed" shops, co-operatives, dining rooms, etc., where they can buy cheaply. We paid over 50 cents for every rouble, which is officially pegged arbitrarily as fiat money at this point. Bootlegged roubles could be bought in Moscow at 30 to 40 for a dollar, or two and a half to three cents each. The rouble has a lessened but varying purchasing power at the four principal price levels, i.e., those prevailing in the "closed" and open co-operatives, those in the government stores, and the soaring prices in the open market, where all peasants and artisans are allowed to sell their products at any price and where middlemen and speculators are forbidden, though not always successfully. An American friend of mine had to pay 22 roubles, or \$11, for his first dinner in Moscow, while a Russian may, for 35 roubles, get two good meals a day for a month at his "closed" restaurant. Bread is plentiful and cheap, but there is a serious shortage of almost all other supplies, especially food and clothing. The whole country continues grimly to tighten its hunger belt of self-denial while every available penny is put into the titanic construction of the Five Year Plan.

2. Russia is in a grave financial crisis, with a serious crop shortage, though this cannot be called "famine" in any true sense. She is suffering indirectly from the world depression and with a chronic and painful shortage of goods. She has faced such a crisis every year for the last fifteen years, and she will, no doubt, be in this state for probably some ten years to come, that is, through three Five Year Plans, despite steady and enormous gains in many branches of heavy industry. No other country could or would stand the strain. I believe Russia undoubtedly can and will.

3. The Russians have a unique and wonderful "plan of the whole," embracing almost all of industry, agriculture and government; of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. But they are falling down in *detail* almost everywhere, with much waste, delay and failure. Russian hotels, for instance, are unquestionably the worst in the civilized world. One may leave Russia at any one of the four points of the compass to go to Finland or Turkey, to Poland or China, and find far better hotels than the best in Russia. In Angora, Turkey, six years ago, I found the hotels filthy and verminous. Today their second-class hotels are decidedly superior to anything one encounters in Soviet Russia. One might also mention the cheap, erroneous and shortsighted character of some of the anti-religious propaganda such as that offered in the Anti-religious Museum in Leningrad, where the photograph of Henry Ford is exhibited as a "prominent Baptist (!) contributing to poor Baptists in Russia." To American tourists this sort of thing is often a source of hilarious amusement.

4. In anticipation of invasion and of defensive war there has been a rapid militarization of the mind of youth. Literally millions of girls and boys, in the city and in the country, receive voluntary military training, with target practice, as in no other country in the world. While this is purely defensive, and could not be diverted to imperialistic invasion without discrediting and disintegrating the whole system, it is still serious.

BY WAY of Gains, Assets and Values I noted the following developments: 1. A tremendous increase has taken place in construction in heavy industry, buildings, roads, dams, irrigation projects and electric power plants, with six whole new cities rising out of the ground in a few months. With 18 millions employed and no unemployment, this stimulation of industry constitutes in view of the world-wide depression, the most colossal advance in planned production which history records.

2. There has been an unbelievable advance in education. When I heard part of their present plan projected four years ago, I laughed at it as an impossible dream. Already they have enrolled in primary and secondary institutions 24,707,000, a number about equal to the total enrollment in America. In universities there are 530,000, in technical institutions 855,000, in kindergartens 5,000,000; in the free compulsory primary schools there is an enrollment of 95 percent

of the children. Among those between the ages of eight and fifty, the proportion of those who are literate rose from 33 percent in 1920 to over 80 percent in 1932. The total enrollment of old and young who are receiving some instruction is nearly 80,000,000. This breaks a world's record.

3. The cultural life of Russia is steadily advancing. The Cultural Olympics this year dramatically portrayed the advance made in music, art, athletics and social organization by the nearly two hundred peoples and races of the autonomous republics throughout the Soviet. It was a thrilling sight to see 50,000 of the youth of Russia in one audience and to hear them shout in unison like an American college cheer: "We are changing the world, we are changing the world, we are changing the world." That same night in the Park of Culture and Rest at Moscow 300,000 individuals engaged in 22 kinds of athletics, gymnastics and sports, which were followed by a rich cultural, aesthetic and intellectual program, all under the direction of one able young woman of 28. The aggressive and indomitable leadership of youth which is evident everywhere is one of the striking characteristics of the U.S.S.R. today, and the recreation and relief of their cultural programs is one condition of the successful fulfillment of their strenuous and sacrificial economic planning.

4. In collectivization, mechanized agriculture, and coöperation the country shows an enormous quantitative advance. Some 15,000,000 families, with 80 percent of the cultivated area of Russia, are now included in collective and state farms, though the production per peasant is still surprisingly low. The Consumers Coöperatives include 75,000,000 members, or three-quarters of the entire adult population, a far larger membership than that of the coöperatives of all the rest of the world combined. Collectivization and coöperation are the two keynotes of the entire Soviet program.

5. The Five Year Plan has succeeded in many respects. Most of it will have been completed in four years, at the end of 1932. But there is a very serious shortage and delay in the great essentials of coal, iron, steel, metals and railways; and the plan has not been fulfilled in prices, living standards, real wages, and consumption goods. This handicap and delay will be carried over to the second Five Year Plan.

6. Despite the undoubted dictatorship, tyranny and terror, the examination of many witnesses this year shows, on the whole, a somewhat better treatment of intellectuals and engineers and less persecution of "White" Russians, Kulaks and religionists. This comes with the increasing security of the government, and is an important gain, however backward they may be in their conception of liberty.

Beyond all the serious shortage, delay, privation, slowness in mastering machinery, waste and partial fail-

ure, which are widely evident, in my judgment the government of Russia is, together with that of Great Britain, the most stable and lasting in all Europe. The series of Five Year Plans will probably ultimately succeed because of certain basic factors—the economic planning under social control, the titanic enthusiasm of youth and of the masses of labor, the willingness of their leaders to change, to learn, to harness growing technical skill to their vast resources, and above all their scientifically sound psychology in utilizing a whole network of motivations and incentives more powerful and effective than the appeal to greed and to the profit motive for the favored few which is the dominant note in capitalistic countries.

As the beginnings of feudalism and capitalism introduced new epochs of advance in history, despite their inevitable mixture of good and evil, I believe we are now entering upon an era in world history which will in time achieve both social justice and liberty through the necessary coördination of individualism and collectivism. Russia will demand social justice for all while we in America stand for liberty. After the signal failure of organized religion during the last 19 centuries to achieve any significant approach to the promise of economic justice and security for great masses of men, it will be of profound moment to the whole of humanity if in time any system, or movement or "experiment" can force the rest of the world to put its house in order and to end the exploitation of the many by the few. Countries which too long refuse to grant basic economic justice instead of the selfish palliatives of charity in such matters as unemployment insurance and the determined ending of poverty and slums, may be swept into the discard, as were the Czarist church and state of Russia.

While I abhor and denounce publicly every evil existing in Soviet Russia, I am convinced, after visiting a suffering and distracted Europe, that our own country has not yet adequately learned the lessons of the depression, and that there is an imperative demand laid upon us to build here and now, without further excuse or delay, a Christian social order if we have any constructive contribution to make toward the alleviation of the desperate economic need and social injustice of our time.

To Our Readers

The Survey of the Parties which was to have been included with this issue will appear next week. We regret the delay, which has been caused by the failure of some of the minor parties to complete their data in time.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Nightmare and Reality

The Society of Nations. By Felix Morley. Brookings Institution, Washington. 678 pages. \$3.50.

The United States and the League of Nations. By Denna Frank Fleming. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 559 pages. \$5.00.

ADMIRABLY supplementing each other, these volumes are indispensable to serious students of international affairs. Mr. Morley here presents an exhaustive analysis and interpretation of the organization and constitutional development of the League. More than 200 pages are devoted to the task of tracing the origins of the various articles in the Covenant and showing the contributions made by numerous individuals and groups.

After examining the network of interrelationships, Mr. Morley emphasizes the fact that the significance and authority of the Council have steadily diminished, whereas the part played by the Secretariat and the Assembly has continuously been magnified. The prevailing tendency is revealed in two long and masterly chapters on the Sino-Japanese dispute. The Assembly, when called in extraordinary session on March 3, 1932, displayed far more efficiency, vigor and courage in dealing with a recalcitrant power than had been true of the Council. Before the debate ended, representatives of 29 nations had ascended the rostrum and expressed varying degrees of indignation concerning Japan's aggressive action in Manchuria and at Shanghai. Nine weeks later Japan signed an agreement calling for the unconditional evacuation of the Shanghai area, and explained, through its Foreign Office, that this action "was due to a desire to conform with world opinion and to end the world-wide odium which has fallen upon us." Within the Assembly there was general recognition of the fact that Manchuria constitutes the real crux of the problem, and consequently a Committee of Nineteen was set up and given a continuing status to represent the League in the entire Sino-Japanese conflict, thus taking over powers hitherto exercised by the Council. When Lord Lytton's Commission of Inquiry returns from the Far East and makes its report, the Assembly, rather than the Council, will probably be the scene of one of the momentous diplomatic struggles of history. The influence of the smaller and non-imperialist powers is far greater in the Assembly than in the Council, and there is reason to believe that the Assembly will refuse to remain passive in the face of Japan's action in seizing a vast area of Chinese territory. Those who desire to follow the future course of the Manchurian controversy will do well to read and digest Mr. Morley's interpretation.

The whole sordid story of the campaign to keep the United States out of the League has been well told by Mr. Fleming. Notwithstanding the fact that former President Roosevelt, in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, had said that "it would be a masterly stroke if those great Powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among them-

selves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others," and that Senator Lodge had vigorously endorsed the League to Enforce Peace and had said that "we must find some way in which the united forces of the nations could be put behind the cause of peace and law," these distinguished gentlemen planned a campaign to prevent the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. Before the first draft of the Covenant had been published, Roosevelt and Lodge spent three hours formulating a series of reservations to the the then unknown document which was being drafted under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, who had incurred their venomous hatred. The subsequent campaign of misrepresentation, vilification and passion—which was heavily subsidized by Henry C. Frick and Andrew W. Mellon, "who were accustomed to act together in such matters"—is vividly described by Mr. Fleming. A significant section summarizes the double-faced policy of Candidate Harding and emphasizes the support given him by a group of pro-League Republicans—including Herbert Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, Henry L. Stimson and Elihu Root—who urged the election of Mr. Harding as the quickest way to get us into the League.

In the light of the League's actual record during the intervening twelve years, the jingoistic and impassioned utterances of Senators Lodge, Borah, Johnson, Reed, Fall, et al., make them appear as nightmare-possessed victims or simpletons or knaves. Mr. Fleming's volume brings the relevant evidence together in convenient form. Let patriotic and peace-loving Americans read it and weep!

K. P.

Lives in the Making

Lives in the Making: Aims and Ways of Character Building. By Henry Neumann. Appleton and Company. \$3.00.

DOCTOR NEUMANN writes with a flare for the interest-catcher which is symptomatic of his attitude toward character education. Illuminating illustrations and vivid phrases march through his pages like armies with banners. Leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, Dr. Neumann is sound in his analysis of the objectives of religious education, and the constructive outlook contained in his volume should have considerable weight in that field.

As far as direct contribution to character building is concerned, the author differs from the reviewer in placing greater hope in psychology than in religion. Perhaps he is right in rejecting institutional religion; but still, there is the old German adage about retaining the baby when one throws out the bath water. Astounding correlation is shown between home environment and child development—astounding because backed up by something more than emotional gush, and because suggestive of the unlimited possibilities of affecting the next generation through adult education.

It is hopeless to try to quote or make citations—I have the margins of the whole book marked up with quotable passages.

It is replete with sane, constructive, far-sighted wisdom, made vivid by judiciously profligate use of illustrations. I wish I were President of the Board of Education. I'd issue an edict making renewal of teachers' contracts dependent upon digesting this book. Everyone is telling us what is wrong with the world. Here is one man who has some ideas on how to set it right.

My major point of difference with Dr. Neumann is that the treatment of the economic factor is not adequate. The present difficulty is looked upon as functional, not organic, as temporary not basic. While this limitation does not completely vitiate the splendid work done in this comprehensive book, it does illustrate one of the pitfalls which claim persons who are concerned primarily with character education. Dr. Neumann does not entirely miss the coefficient of personal character, social reconstruction; but the discussion proceeds within the limits established by the assumption of orthodox economics. A book which is fearless and frequently venturesome in the fields of psychology and of religion, ought not to be in bondage to the economic *status quo*. But for all that, whenever the economic environment permits, it will be well to attempt to work out the principles Dr. Neumann champions. One only wishes that Mammon would more frequently say, "Licet!"

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

WE RECOMMEND

Concepts of Sociology. Earle Eubank. Heath and Co. \$4.80. Professor Eubank's text is a splendid resumé of the sociological thought of the past decades. It will be invaluable to any student who desires to study social relations in terms of the exact concepts and precise definitions which the social scientists have elaborated.

American Parties and Politics. By Harold R. Bruce. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.75. Revision of an earlier work brought down to 1932. Contains much factual and statistical data, but shows little understanding of socialism, and confuses the League for Independent Political Action with the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Textile Unionism and the South, by George Sinclair Mitchell. University of North Carolina Press. 92 pages. \$1.00. An excellent survey which briefly reviews the development and present status of textile unionism in the North, and discusses more fully the Southern situation up to 1930. The author points out that though there are many obstacles to textile union organization in the South, there are favorable tendencies, such as a developing leadership, a more friendly attitude on the part of the middle class and the press and increasing support by the Southern labor movement.

The World's Economic Crisis and the Way of Escape. A Symposium. Century Company. \$1.75. This concise and valuable volume contains the Halley Stewart Lectures by six of the most penetrating minds of Britain. Maynard Keynes, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Josiah Stamp, Sir Basil Blackett, Henry Clay and Sir William Beveridge, men who not only are theoretical economists but who have had practical experience in public affairs, discuss the present economic crisis and the way of escape. Conditions and causes of the crisis, an immediate program of tasks ahead, British domestic problems, the need of a planned system of economy, and unemployment are the subjects dealt with in this valuable, objective study.

Development of the League of Nations Idea. By Theodore Marburg. The Macmillan Co. 2 volumes, \$8.00. These volumes will not interest the casual reader, but will prove indispensable to the student who desires to follow the early stages of the movement which led to the creation of the League. Countless letters from leading statesmen and publicists are here reprinted.

CORRESPONDENCE

In Defense of the I.L.P.

I AM glad you are publishing regular letters from Mr. Brailsford on the English situation. I have a very high regard for Mr. Brailsford and hesitate to question his conclusions in regard to the secession of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party because I have suspicion that he knows more about the situation than a casual American observer. But why should he be so sure that it will be suicidal for the I.L.P. to sever connections with the Labour Party and that it has "deprived itself of all the readier means of influencing the movement"? Does not the first part of his letter prove that the radical influence in the Labour Party accomplished exactly nothing in moving the entire party to the left? If it failed in the past, what guarantee was there that it might succeed in the future? Could not his arguments have been used with equal plausibility when a generation ago labor seceded from the Liberal Party? Did not many realists of that day contend that it would be better for labor to leave the lump of liberalism than to go out into the wilderness on a new venture? Might not the same arguments which persuaded semi-socialism to secede from liberalism be equally cogent in persuading real socialism to disassociate itself from semi-socialism?

Springfield, Mass.

KARL I. MEDFORD

Contributions Gratefully Accepted

THE children in five West Virginia mining towns have had fun this summer. Pioneer Youth has come to play with them. Their fathers are fighting conditions worse than Russian peasants endured under the Czar. They live in leaky shacks not fit for cow sheds. They never have enough to eat nor to wear. Many of the children cannot go to public school because there is no money to buy books and shoes.

So Pioneer Youth has been giving them a taste of culture and modern education in its play schools during July and August. The children learn through play how to get along together, find out something about the world around them, learn what their fathers are fighting for, begin to think of ways to better their condition.

Expenses are kept down to a minimum by using only volunteer workers, but even so, money is needed for materials. Would some of your readers like to help us continue, this fall and winter? In this time of crisis our work is more needed than ever to save the coming generation from being permanently warped by the depression. Books would be welcome, too. The children are starved for things to read. They cannot afford to buy books and magazines, and there are no libraries.

Send contributions to Pioneer Youth of America, 45 Astor Place, New York City. (After October first, 69 Bank Street, New York.)

New York, N. Y.

AGNES SAILER,
Director Southern Summer Play Schools

Keep the Army Out of the Schools

AS college opening time approaches we should again be reminded of the growing numbers of students who object to being drafted into the military training units maintained at many institutions. Many readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW will be interested to learn that it is both quite possible and highly important for students opposed to these onerous courses to seek exemption. After years of experience in aiding such students, we have prepared folders outlining the procedure to follow in refusing drill, which we shall gladly send to any of your readers facing this problem. Requests for such information should be addressed to our office, 387 Bible House.

New York, N. Y.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION

Help Wanted

THE Centralia Publicity Committee, Box 37, Centralia, Washington, is in desperate need of friends to continue its efforts for the release of the four men who have already served thirteen years of undeserved imprisonment. The only salary paid by the committee is the \$14 a week on which the devoted secretary, C. S. Smith, manages somehow to exist. The death of Elmer Smith, the young lawyer who literally gave his life for these men, was a great loss. Cannot enough of us pledge ourselves to send the committee one dollar a month so that his work in behalf of these men shall not have been in vain?

Long Island City, N. Y.

FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Brookwood Labor College

STUDENTS are now being recruited for the twelfth year's sessions of Brookwood, the labor college at Katonah, N. Y. While preference will be given to trade unionists and workers with industrial experience, the school will accept a few students with college training who are definitely sympathetic to the labor movement and desirous of being active in some phase of it. The inclusive fee for the course (seven and one-half months) is \$700 for college students and \$200 for industrial workers. Miss Cara Cook, secretary, will be glad to send detailed information upon requests addressed to her at Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

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OPPOSED TO MILITARY DRILL in schools? Do you know conscientious students desiring exemption? For suggestions and literature write George A. Coe, Chairman, or Tucker P. Smith, Secretary,

Committee on Militarism in Education
Bible House New York City



CAMPAIGN songs, unless I am deceived by distance, have been degenerating. When Roosevelt made his excursion into New England to heal the breaches in his party's ranks, they had a song prepared far ahead for spontaneous use on the occasion. To the tune of *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp* (not tramps—that would have been too close to grim reality) *the Boys Are Marching*, they yodeled.

Vote, Vote, Vote for Franklin Roosevelt,
Throw Herbert Hoover out the door;
Franklin Roosevelt is the man;
We will have him and we can;
And we won't have Mr. Hoover any more.

This appears to my ear as scarcely vigorous. Not even a presidential salute of twenty-one Big Guns, or the graceful modulation of the song leader from *Anchors Aweigh to Happy Days Are Here Again* (joined, I suppose, on the theory that to make the statement come true you'd have to sail far, far away to some other region) could dispel the feeling that there are no giants in these days. From the viewpoint of color it was far different when in 1840, beneath torchlights and behind drum corps, the citizenry trooped off bellowing:

Old Tip's the boy to swing the flail,
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!
And make the locos all turn pale,
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!
He'll give them all a ternal switchin'
When he begins toclare de kitchen;
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

But 1840 had nothing more lively than "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Man, Fre-mont and Victory!" And how delicately it was suggested that Millard Fillmore might not be entirely perfect. They sang:

A canting, pompous wretch he is,
Who'll cheat you if you heed him.

Nor did they find Andrew Johnson completely to the songsters' liking:

You have swung around the circle;
That you ought to swing is true;
You tried to veto Congress,
But I guess we'll veto you.

I was pondering the whys and wherefores of the decline of campaign music not long since, when I came upon a beloved old tome of forty years ago, wherein I have always found much political wisdom printed in the name of nonsense, and vice versa. It declared: "In recent years (*sic*) campaign songs seem to have lost their attractiveness for the voters. Songs are written and sung at the large rallies, but do not become popular. Two causes are accountable for this: one, the making of issues which do not evoke popular enthusiasm ('that's right,' said I) and, second, the writers of so-called 'funny stuff' in the newspapers and magazines ('Rats,' said I) who give just sufficiently humorous a touch to politics to make people think they have had enough of campaign humor."

"Well," I told myself, when I got over feeling the insult, "maybe it's so, maybe it's so." But methinks, in reality, it is a matter of rhyme. We haven't had good candidates, ever, from the rhyming point of view, and naturally the rhymsters have run out long since. How far, how genuinely far, could anybody get, no matter how clever a bard or how passionate a devotee, with Hoover, Roosevelt, Thomas, Foster, Reynolds, Webb, Harvey, or—last but not least—Upshaw? Or, for that matter, with

Eccentricus

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